

Online Appendix for

Introducing the EU Exit Index measuring each member state's propensity to leave the European Union

Author: Markus Gastinger (University of Salzburg, Austria)

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Additional information concerning Eurosceptic MPs

To determine the share of Eurosceptic members of parliament (MPs) in a country's lower house, I use the Chapel Hill Expert Survey (CHES) (Bakker *et al.* 2015). CHES provides the most accurate data on party positioning on European integration (Marks *et al.* 2007). Election results are from the Parliaments and Governments database (ParlGov) (Döring and Manow 2018). I have manually supplemented elections that were unavailable from ParlGov at the time of data extraction. Where more than one election took place in one year, I took the latter. Only Cyprus has not held elections since the Brexit referendum. Combining the CHES and ParlGov datasets has been facilitated by the Party Facts project (Döring and Regel 2019). I define Eurosceptic parties as those with an EU position below 3.5. This means that they are ideologically closer to opposing the EU than supporting it, which makes it easier for them to stomach an exit scenario, even if not actively advocating for it. Moreover, I use the degree of dissent on Europe within a party to estimate the share of Eurosceptic MPs. Assuming that dissent extends symmetrically in both directions, upper and lower bounds can be estimated based on the formula:

$$EUP_{i,upper/lower\ bound} = EUP_i \pm \left(\frac{EUD_i}{10} \right) \times EUP_i \quad (1)$$

where EUP_i is the EU position of party i and EUD_i is the corresponding value for EU dissent. Where the upper and lower bound of a party are below or above 3.5, all or none of its seats are included in the index. Where the bounds stretch across 3.5, the percentage share below 3.5 of party i is computed with the help of the formula:

$$Share_i = \frac{3.5 - EUP_{i,lower\ bound}}{(EUP_{i,upper\ bound} - EUP_{i,lower\ bound}) / 100} \quad (2)$$

This share is multiplied with the party's number of seats to estimate the strength of Eurosceptic MPs in national parliaments. Where data is missing in CHES, I imputed values for parties with

a seat share of at least 5 percent based on Wikipedia. Eurosceptic parties were imputed the value corresponding to the first quartile of the EU position of all known parties (3.4), while pro-EU parties received the third-quartile value (6.3). For EU dissent, I used the mean of all available parties. This approach yields, for example, an estimated 30 percent of Eurosceptic MPs in pre-referendum Britain. This closely tracks empirical findings by Heppell *et al.* (2017: 771) on the share of Eurosceptic conservative MPs, which gives some confidence in the approach outlined here.

Additional information concerning sovereign credit ratings

To determine a country's sovereign credit rating, I have transformed ratings into numeric values based on the following table. I have then taken a country's average value for each year.

DESCRIPTION	RATING	NUMERIC VALUE
Prime	AAA (Fitch, S&P), Aaa (Moody's)	1
High grade 1	AA+, Aa1	2
High grade 2	AA, Aa2	3
High grade 3	AA-, Aa3	4
Upper medium grade 1	A+, A1	5
Upper medium grade 2	A, A2	6
Upper medium grade 3	A-, A3	7
Lower medium grade 1	BBB+, Baa1	8
Lower medium grade 2	BBB, Baa2	9
Lower medium grade 3	BBB-, Baa3	10
Non-investment grade speculative 1	BB+, Ba1	11
Non-investment grade speculative 2	BB, Ba2	12
Non-investment grade speculative 3	BB-, Ba3	13
Highly speculative 1	B+, B1	14
Highly speculative 2	B, B2	15
Highly speculative 3	B-, B3	16
Substantial risks (incl. extremely speculative)	CCC+, Caa1, CCC, Caa2	17
In default (incl. with little prospect for recovery)	CCC-, Caa3, CC, Ca, C, D, DD, DDD	18

TABLE A1. Overview of all indicators included in the EU Exit Index

DIMENSION	INDICATOR	DESCRIPTION	SOURCE
Social	Future	Share of respondents that 'totally agree' or 'tend to agree' with the statement: '(OUR COUNTRY) could better face the future outside the EU.'	Eurobarometer ^a (81.4, 82.3, 83.3, 84.3, 85.2; 86.2, 87.3, 88.3, 89.1, 90.3, 91.5, 92.3)
	Future EU	Share of respondents answering 'fairly pessimistic' or 'very pessimistic' to the question: 'Would you say that you are very optimistic, fairly optimistic, fairly pessimistic or very pessimistic about the future of the EU?'	ibid.
	Identity	Share of respondents answering 'NATIONALITY only' to the question: 'Do you see yourself as (NATIONALITY) only, (NATIONALITY) and European, European and (NATIONALITY), European only?'	ibid. (minus Eurobarometer 92.3)
	Citizen	Share of respondents answering 'no, not really' or 'no, definitely not' to the statement: 'For each of the following statements, please tell me to what extent it corresponds or not to your own opinion. You feel you are a citizen of the EU.'	ibid.
	Image	Share of respondents answering 'fairly negative' or 'very negative' to the question: 'In general, does the EU conjure up for you a very positive, fairly positive, neutral, fairly negative or very negative image?'	ibid.
	Migration	Share of respondents answering 'very negative' or 'fairly negative' to the statement: 'Please tell me whether each of the following statements evokes a positive or negative feeling for you. Immigration of people from other EU Member States.'	ibid. (minus Eurobarometer 81.4)
	Trust	Difference between respondents that 'tend to trust' their national parliament (lower house) over the European Parliament. Positive values indicate higher trust in the national parliament.	ibid.

(table continued on following page)

TABLE A1. Overview of all indicators included in the EU Exit Index (cont.)

DIMENSION	INDICATOR	DESCRIPTION	SOURCE
Economic	Eurozone	Binary variable indicating whether a country is a member of the Eurozone.	European Commission
	EU trade	Intra-EU imports and exports of goods and services, in percent of GDP. ^b	Eurostat (DS-016894 for goods, bop_its6_det for services)
	Rating	Average sovereign credit rating across all three major credit rating agencies (Fitch, Moody's, and Standard & Poor's).	TheGlobalEconomy.com
	NIIP	Net international investment position as the difference between a member state's external financial assets and liabilities (position at the end of the fourth quarter in any given year), relative to GDP. Positive values denote net creditors, negative values net debtors.	Eurostat (bop_iip6_q)
	Budget	Operating budgetary balance (OBB) in percent of GDP. The OBB is defined as the difference between the operating expenditure (excl. administration) and adjusted national contribution (excl. traditional own resources).	European Commission (DG Budget)
Political	Veto players	Measure of the number of constitutionally mandated branches of government with veto power over legislative decisions (executive and up to two legislative chambers), the preference alignment across them, and the fractionalization of parliament (increases or decreases the measure of veto players depending on whether the executive has majority control).	Political Constraint Index dataset (Henisz 2002)
	Parties	Share of Eurosceptic MPs in each member state's lower house.	CHES, ParlGov, Party Facts
	Council	Number of times each member state has voted against or abstained in final legislative votes in the Council.	Council Secretariat (transparency unit)
	EP	Share of MEPs per country outvoted in final legislative votes in the eighth EP (2014 – 2019).	VoteWatch Europe (see also Hix <i>et al.</i> 2007)

Source: Author's own presentation.

Notes: ^a Eurobarometer data are from volume A (countries) as available on the EU Open Data Portal. These volumes use post-stratification weights to correct for differences between the sample and total universe with respect to basic population parameters such as gender, age or degree of urbanization. ^b Gross domestic product data are taken from Eurostat (nama_10_gdp). Data for trade in services to the UK from Lithuania and Malta have been missing for 2015 and 2016 and were imputed through linear interpolation. Trade in services data for 2019 are not yet available and have been fitted using Holt's method with estimated optimal model parameters.

TABLE A2. Descriptive statistics

	N	MEAN	SD	MIN	Q0.25	Q0.75	MAX
Future	168	29.75	9.40	10.50	22	36.50	51.50
Future EU	168	35.21	10.24	11.50	27.88	41.12	69
Identity	168	36.73	9.33	10	30.38	43.50	65
Citizen	168	28.38	11.03	6.50	20	35.62	53.50
Image	168	19.36	8.65	5.50	13	24.12	49
Migration	168	32.51	11.71	10.50	24.88	40	63
Trust	168	-15.40	13.77	-50	-23.62	-5.75	12.50
Euro	168	0.67	0.47	0	0	1	1
EU trade	168	92.04	50.24	27.04	52.70	123.35	258.10
Rating	168	6.05	4.03	1	2	9	17
NIIP	168	-31.85	62.39	-198.41	-65.61	3.79	89.17
Budget	168	0.98	1.42	-0.70	-0.24	1.98	5.36
Veto players	168	0.50	0.10	0.23	0.43	0.55	0.72
Parties	168	19.36	16.69	0	6.10	28.27	72.27
Council	168	2.88	4.45	0	1	3	39
EP	168	11.87	8.22	0.90	5.77	15.63	43.33
EU Exit Index	168	44.44	10.18	23.88	36.97	51.90	78.87

Source: Author's calculations.

Notes: Descriptive statistics of all indicators feeding into the EU Exit Index and the EU Exit Index itself.

TABLE A3. Correlation matrix

	EP	Council Parties	Veto players	Budget	NIIP	Rating	EU trade	Euro	Trust	Migration	Image	Citizen	Identity	Future EU	
Future	0.20	0.24	0.13	-0.26*	0.07	-0.39***	0.45***	-0.23	-0.22	-0.19	0.40***	0.47***	0.57***	0.48***	0.47***
Future EU	0.48***	0.13	0.28*	0.02	-0.10	-0.11	0.18	-0.26	0.08	0.22	0.51***	0.89***	0.64***	0.37***	
Identity	0.31**	0.19	0.08	-0.25	0.29**	-0.47***	0.37***	-0.46***	-0.20	-0.20	0.45***	0.35***	0.70***		
Citizen	0.41***	0.16	0.20	-0.12	0.20	-0.33**	0.49***	-0.41***	-0.26*	-0.22	0.59***	0.63***			
Image	0.61***	0.22	0.28*	0.08	-0.28*	-0.07	0.07	-0.26	0.06	0.38***	0.45***				
Migration	0.13	0.05	0.12	-0.06	0.24	-0.16	0.33**	0.03	0.06	-0.13					
Trust	0.35***	0.21	0.20	0.17	-0.65***	0.45***	-0.63***	-0.06	0.16						
Euro	0.01	-0.31**	-0.25	0.21	-0.30**	-0.02	-0.07	0.14							
EU trade	-0.47***	-0.10	-0.09	0.22	0.19	0.30**	-0.18								
Rating	-0.03	-0.21	-0.03	-0.32**	0.55***	-0.74***									
NIIP	-0.14	0.14	0.02	0.25	-0.38***										
Budget	-0.31**	-0.10	0.11	-0.25											
Veto players	-0.04	-0.09	0.07												
Parties	0.28*	0.27*													
Council	0.43***														

Source: Author's calculations.

Notes: Pearson correlation coefficients for all indicators but Euro, where point-biserial coefficients are reported. * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

TABLE A4. Eigenvalues and variances of the principal component analysis

PC	EIGENVALUE	EXPLAINED VAR.	ACCUMULATED VAR.
1	4.75	29.67	29.67
2	3.27	20.42	50.08
3	1.64	10.26	60.34
4	1.40	8.74	69.08
5	0.92	5.78	74.86
6	0.77	4.84	79.70
7	0.70	4.40	84.10
8	0.68	4.26	88.36
9	0.45	2.84	91.20
10	0.38	2.37	93.58
11	0.31	1.94	95.51
12	0.24	1.52	97.04
13	0.18	1.13	98.17
14	0.15	0.94	99.11
15	0.09	0.54	99.65
16	0.06	0.35	100

Source: Author's calculations.

Notes: PC – principal component, Var. – variance (in percent).

FIGURE A1. Scree plot of eigenvalues from principal component analysis

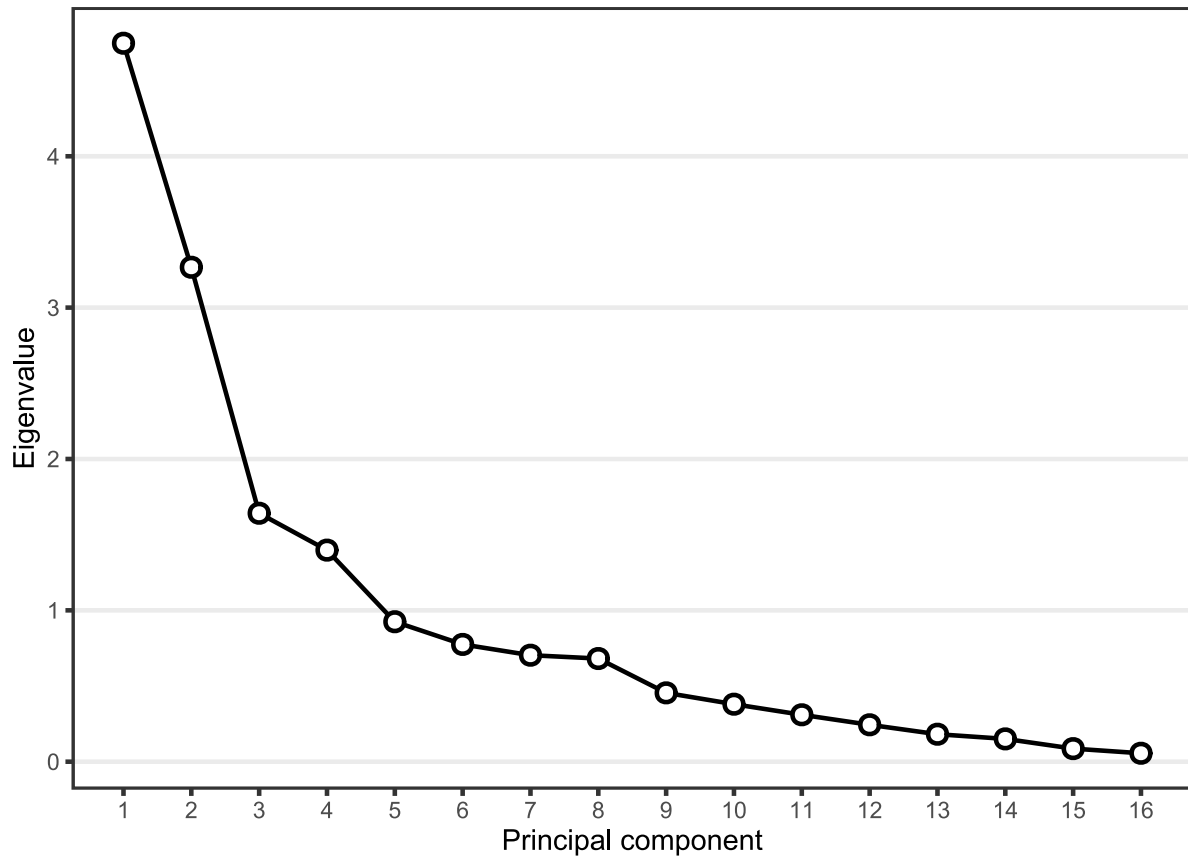


TABLE A5. Sensitivity of the EU Exit Index to individual indicators

	Rank ^a	Score ^a	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
United Kingdom	1	78.87	75.31 (1)	72.48 (1)	74.52 (1)	73.3 (1)	71.73 (1)	74.07 (1)	70.71 (1)	70.49 (1)
Austria	2	61.15	57.98 (2)	54.15 (2)	58.3 (2)	57.69 (2)	52.88 (5)	57.62 (3)	53.47 (3)	61.15 (2)
Czechia	2	60.14	57.26 (4)	53.75 (3)	57.33 (3)	55.12 (5)	53.25 (4)	54.41 (5)	54.84 (2)	51.76 (8)
Sweden	2	59.42	57.45 (3)	53.37 (4)	57.25 (4)	56.98 (3)	54.03 (2)	58.55 (2)	50.7 (6)	51.04 (9)
Denmark	5	57.80	56.69 (5)	53.31 (5)	55.66 (5)	55.22 (4)	53.42 (3)	55.43 (4)	50.26 (7)	49.42 (11)
Greece	4	56.66	53.73 (6)	46.73 (10)	53.26 (6)	50.28 (7)	45.76 (10)	52.03 (6)	50.94 (4)	56.66 (3)
Cyprus	4	55.01	51.07 (10)	47.32 (8)	51.33 (9)	49.1 (8)	45.99 (9)	49.51 (10)	49.08 (8)	55.01 (4)
Italy	6	55.01	51.74 (9)	48.88 (6)	52.28 (8)	49.03 (9)	49.25 (6)	49.74 (8)	50.75 (5)	55.01 (4)
France	4	54.92	52.95 (7)	47.67 (7)	52.78 (7)	50.64 (6)	48.78 (7)	51.1 (7)	49.06 (9)	54.92 (6)
Netherlands	8	52.56	51.79 (8)	47.12 (9)	50.94 (10)	48.42 (10)	46.8 (8)	49.72 (9)	44.33 (10)	52.56 (7)
Germany	11	50.12	48.58 (11)	43.82 (11)	48.66 (11)	47.95 (11)	45.24 (11)	46.59 (11)	42.1 (12)	50.12 (10)
Hungary	10	48.85	46.4 (12)	42.72 (12)	46.28 (12)	44.84 (12)	44.84 (12)	44.39 (12)	43.2 (11)	40.47 (18)
Belgium	12	47.04	44.88 (13)	41.51 (13)	45.34 (13)	43.92 (13)	41.15 (16)	42.81 (14)	41.53 (14)	47.04 (12)
Finland	13	45.92	44.29 (14)	41.17 (14)	43.51 (14)	43.88 (14)	42.04 (13)	44.24 (13)	38.24 (18)	45.92 (13)
Croatia	10	45.11	42.13 (15)	40.62 (16)	42.97 (15)	40.09 (17)	41.6 (15)	42.68 (15)	41.9 (13)	36.73 (22)
Romania	12	43.99	41.2 (16)	40.79 (15)	41.14 (16)	40.19 (16)	41.99 (14)	40.69 (16)	41.48 (15)	35.61 (25)
Poland	15	42.77	39.5 (20)	39.92 (17)	40.44 (17)	40.46 (15)	41.02 (17)	40.4 (17)	38.72 (17)	34.39 (26)
Bulgaria	11	42.57	40.79 (17)	38.77 (18)	39.45 (20)	36.39 (23)	39.81 (18)	40.08 (18)	40.27 (16)	34.19 (27)
Slovakia	16	41.74	39.77 (18)	36.82 (19)	39.49 (19)	38.89 (18)	37.36 (20)	36.94 (23)	36.44 (19)	41.74 (14)
Spain	17	41.18	39.74 (19)	35.91 (21)	39.76 (18)	38.26 (19)	36.3 (23)	39.27 (19)	36.16 (21)	41.18 (15)
Slovenia	18	41.07	37.13 (24)	36.15 (20)	38.54 (21)	37.81 (21)	37.56 (19)	38 (21)	36.32 (20)	41.07 (16)
Portugal	19	40.89	38.82 (21)	34.93 (23)	38.12 (22)	37.5 (22)	35.25 (24)	38.46 (20)	34.82 (23)	40.89 (17)
Latvia	21	39.47	37.5 (22)	34.37 (26)	36.39 (24)	35.8 (25)	36.59 (21)	33.39 (26)	35.63 (22)	39.47 (19)
Luxembourg	19	38.74	37.3 (23)	34.51 (25)	37.91 (23)	37.86 (20)	34.98 (25)	36.95 (22)	31.97 (25)	38.74 (20)
Malta	21	37.67	36.56 (25)	35.51 (22)	36.05 (25)	36.31 (24)	36.54 (22)	33.91 (24)	31.32 (26)	37.67 (21)
Ireland	25	36.31	34.77 (27)	34.76 (24)	33.3 (27)	33.53 (27)	33.55 (27)	33.71 (25)	31.08 (27)	36.31 (23)
Estonia	23	36.08	35.02 (26)	31.33 (27)	33.67 (26)	33.84 (26)	33.57 (26)	32.66 (27)	30.01 (28)	36.08 (24)
Lithuania	26	33.44	32 (28)	30.42 (28)	30.59 (28)	30.45 (28)	32.81 (28)	30.49 (28)	32.39 (24)	25.06 (28)

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TABLE A5. Sensitivity of the EU Exit Index to individual indicators (cont.)

	Rank ^a	Score ^a	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)
United Kingdom	1	78.87	76.65 (1)	71.04 (1)	75.1 (1)	71.79 (1)	76.8 (1)	77.82 (1)	72.52 (1)	73.93 (1)
Austria	2	61.15	59.44 (2)	53.06 (4)	57.2 (2)	54.14 (3)	59.15 (3)	60.16 (2)	59.68 (2)	58.76 (2)
Czechia	2	60.14	58.99 (3)	53.57 (3)	56.77 (3)	54.99 (2)	59.3 (2)	59.12 (3)	58.84 (3)	57.74 (3)
Sweden	2	59.42	57.43 (4)	51.33 (6)	55.25 (5)	52.22 (5)	58.14 (4)	58.29 (4)	58.77 (4)	57.07 (4)
Denmark	5	57.80	55.89 (5)	49.71 (8)	52.55 (7)	50.76 (6)	56.74 (5)	56.68 (5)	57.15 (5)	55.41 (5)
Greece	4	56.66	54.51 (6)	54.76 (2)	55.4 (4)	52.32 (4)	54.68 (6)	55.27 (6)	56.33 (6)	50.59 (8)
Cyprus	4	55.01	53.2 (7)	51.81 (5)	53.45 (6)	48.3 (7)	53.53 (7)	54.94 (7)	54.52 (8)	51.56 (7)
Italy	6	55.01	52.84 (8)	50.46 (7)	51.27 (9)	48.11 (8)	53.51 (8)	52.49 (9)	54.52 (8)	52.24 (6)
France	4	54.92	52.82 (9)	47.39 (9)	51.4 (8)	47.86 (9)	52.56 (9)	54.26 (8)	54.59 (7)	50.51 (9)
Netherlands	8	52.56	51.15 (10)	44.47 (11)	47.1 (10)	45.15 (11)	52.32 (10)	51.44 (10)	51.42 (10)	48.87 (10)
Germany	11	50.12	48.14 (11)	42.03 (12)	45 (12)	42.92 (12)	48.56 (11)	49.34 (11)	48.82 (11)	48.12 (11)
Hungary	10	48.85	47.72 (12)	44.81 (10)	45.98 (11)	45.35 (10)	46.38 (13)	46.29 (13)	47.22 (12)	47.44 (12)
Belgium	12	47.04	45.94 (13)	40.01 (15)	42.19 (14)	40.04 (13)	46.94 (12)	46.41 (12)	46.23 (13)	45.36 (13)
Finland	13	45.92	43.89 (14)	37.9 (17)	42.05 (15)	38.89 (17)	44.85 (14)	44.91 (14)	45.43 (14)	44.48 (14)
Croatia	10	45.11	43.25 (15)	41.77 (13)	42.31 (13)	39.05 (16)	43.71 (15)	44.8 (15)	44.46 (15)	44.03 (15)
Romania	12	43.99	42.16 (16)	40.45 (14)	41.03 (16)	39.34 (15)	40.84 (17)	43.96 (16)	43.66 (16)	43.03 (16)
Poland	15	42.77	40.98 (17)	37.46 (18)	39.96 (17)	38.21 (18)	40.27 (19)	41.87 (18)	41.47 (18)	40.42 (18)
Bulgaria	11	42.57	40.9 (18)	38.53 (16)	39.4 (18)	39.45 (14)	40.95 (16)	41.91 (17)	41.76 (17)	41.52 (17)
Slovakia	16	41.74	40.68 (19)	35.67 (21)	39.18 (19)	36.6 (19)	40.35 (18)	40.02 (22)	40.76 (19)	40.3 (19)
Spain	17	41.18	39.09 (21)	36 (20)	38.82 (21)	34.7 (23)	39.93 (20)	40.98 (19)	40.53 (22)	39.15 (21)
Slovenia	18	41.07	39.76 (20)	35.64 (22)	37.66 (22)	34.93 (22)	39.76 (21)	40.42 (21)	40.58 (20)	39.93 (20)
Portugal	19	40.89	38.98 (22)	36.95 (19)	39.04 (20)	35 (21)	38.68 (22)	40.43 (20)	40.56 (21)	38.53 (22)
Latvia	21	39.47	37.86 (24)	34.42 (23)	36.54 (23)	35.32 (20)	38.21 (23)	38.96 (23)	38.82 (23)	38.48 (23)
Luxembourg	19	38.74	38.61 (23)	30.65 (25)	33.85 (25)	31.97 (24)	37.36 (24)	38.46 (24)	38.09 (24)	37.91 (24)
Malta	21	37.67	36.28 (25)	31.77 (24)	32.69 (26)	31.52 (25)	35.21 (25)	37.67 (25)	37.18 (25)	36.51 (25)
Ireland	25	36.31	34.63 (27)	30.08 (26)	35.67 (24)	29.64 (27)	34.75 (26)	35.47 (27)	35.98 (26)	33.85 (27)
Estonia	23	36.08	34.7 (26)	29.68 (27)	32.69 (26)	30.96 (26)	34.65 (27)	35.79 (26)	35.59 (27)	34.88 (26)
Lithuania	26	33.44	31.91 (28)	28.22 (28)	30.12 (28)	28.66 (28)	32.14 (28)	33.07 (28)	32.95 (28)	32.07 (28)

Source: Author's calculations.

Notes: ^a Minimum rank and maximum score in the EU Exit Index with all indicators. Score and rank (in brackets) without: (1) future, (2) future EU, (3) identity, (4) citizen, (5) image, (6) migration, (7) trust, (8) euro, (9) EU trade, (10) rating, (11) NIIP, (12) budget, (13) veto players, (14) parties, (15) Council, (16) EP.

TABLE A6. Rotated factor loadings and computed weights (Nicoletti *et al.* 2000)

	Rotated factor loadings ^a			Squared factor loadings ^b			WEIGHT ^c	DIMENSION ^d
	RC1	RC2	RC3	RC1	RC2	RC3		
Future	0.57	-0.39	0.23	0.08	0.04	0.03	0.04	
Future EU	0.89	0.03	-0.08	0.19	0	0	0.09	
Identity	0.55	-0.48	0.31	0.07	0.06	0.05	0.04	
Citizen	0.76	-0.41	0.21	0.14	0.05	0.02	0.07	0.48
Image	0.93	0.18	-0.01	0.21	0.01	0	0.10	
Migration	0.60	-0.34	-0.18	0.09	0.03	0.02	0.04	
Trust	0.25	0.83	0.03	0.01	0.19	0	0.10	
Euro	-0.11	-0.19	0.78	0	0.01	0.32	0.08	
EU trade	0.41	-0.08	0.37	0.04	0	0.07	0.02	
Rating	-0.23	0.86	0.06	0.01	0.21	0	0.11	0.36
NIIP	-0.24	0.71	0.01	0.01	0.14	0	0.07	
Budget	0.20	0.77	-0.14	0.01	0.16	0.01	0.09	
Veto players	-0.02	-0.40	0.38	0	0.04	0.08	0.02	
Parties	0.27	0.14	0.42	0.02	0.01	0.10	0.02	0.15
Council	0.21	0.26	0.68	0.01	0.02	0.25	0.06	
EP	0.66	0.27	0.33	0.10	0.02	0.06	0.05	
Explained var.	4.18	3.59	1.89					
Share of total var.	0.43	0.37	0.20					

Source: Author's calculations.

Notes: RC – rotated component, var – variance. ^a Rotation method: (orthogonal) varimax rotation with Kaiser normalization. Shaded values identify highest loadings. ^b Squared factor loadings rescaled to unity sum (numbers may not add up due to rounding). ^c Only the highest loading per indicator is retained, remaining loadings are rescaled to unity sum (per factor), and then multiplied by the share of total variance. ^d Sum of weighted factor loadings per dimension.

TABLE A7. Results of the EU Exit Index for 2015 and maximum values across all six years (Nicoletti *et al.* 2000)

	VALUES FOR 2015								MAXIMUM VALUES							
	Rank	Score	R.Soc	S.Soc	R.Eco	S.Eco	R.Pol	S.Pol	Rank	Score	R.Soc	S.Soc	R.Eco	S.Eco	R.Pol	S.Pol
United Kingdom	1	76.55	3	35.57	3	32.79	1	8.19	1	79.48	2	36.81	3	32.79	1	12.00
Austria	2	63.91	4	34.55	6	25.40	7	3.97	2	63.91	4	34.55	6	25.61	3	5.14
Sweden	3	61.19	9	24.48	2	33.47	8	3.25	2	62.83	8	26.33	2	33.93	8	3.97
Denmark	4	57.29	18	20.20	1	34.13	10	2.96	3	61.40	14	23.71	1	35.23	10	4.10
France	5	55.04	7	26.38	11	23.97	3	4.69	4	56.87	3	27.50	10	24.63	3	5.99
Czechia	6	54.95	5	28.38	12	23.81	12	2.76	2	61.11	3	32.41	4	27.50	8	4.43
Netherlands	7	54.43	11	23.50	5	26.56	4	4.37	6	57.21	8	26.76	5	27.44	3	5.32
Germany	8	53.82	8	24.57	4	27.08	17	2.17	8	54.41	8	25.02	4	27.58	12	3.86
Cyprus	9	53.61	1	38.48	27	12.56	14	2.57	9	53.61	1	38.48	26	15.11	8	4.02
Italy	10	50.68	6	27.27	15	20.32	9	3.10	8	55.60	4	30.98	15	20.38	4	5.06
Finland	11	50.13	14	22.51	7	25.36	16	2.26	11	50.13	14	22.51	7	25.64	16	3.22
Belgium	12	49.85	10	23.54	9	24.73	23	1.57	9	50.90	7	24.74	9	24.85	21	2.42
Greece	13	49.18	2	36.76	28	6.99	2	5.43	8	54.28	1	40.05	28	9.82	2	7.40
Luxembourg	14	43.88	21	17.38	8	25.21	28	1.29	14	43.88	21	17.38	7	25.21	23	1.99
Hungary	15	43.85	16	21.86	19	17.80	6	4.19	12	48.35	8	24.53	16	21.17	2	6.19
Poland	16	43.06	26	14.58	10	24.28	5	4.19	15	43.83	23	15.58	10	24.73	4	4.99
Slovenia	17	40.77	13	22.71	22	16.74	26	1.31	17	43.22	8	23.30	18	19.57	17	2.46
Croatia	18	40.38	23	16.30	13	22.54	25	1.54	12	45.31	13	21.09	12	24.00	21	2.62
Bulgaria	19	39.80	19	20.05	18	18.15	22	1.61	14	42.74	12	20.19	15	22.09	15	3.18
Slovakia	20	39.70	12	23.27	25	14.56	19	1.87	17	43.22	12	24.03	19	18.13	8	4.22
Latvia	21	38.29	15	21.98	24	14.75	24	1.57	21	40.28	15	22.10	24	16.56	20	2.39
Estonia	22	37.63	22	16.73	17	19.25	21	1.66	22	38.62	20	19.48	17	19.73	21	2.10
Spain	23	37.57	20	18.23	20	17.63	20	1.71	18	42.76	15	22.07	19	19.23	15	3.09
Portugal	24	37.43	17	20.37	26	14.15	11	2.91	20	40.42	10	24.66	26	15.35	11	3.76
Malta	25	37.15	25	14.96	16	20.29	18	1.90	20	40.81	21	15.94	15	22.12	18	2.75
Romania	26	36.33	27	13.23	14	20.68	15	2.42	16	43.45	20	18.20	13	23.28	15	2.75
Ireland	27	34.03	24	15.50	23	15.92	13	2.62	23	37.23	22	17.93	22	18.11	7	3.72
Lithuania	28	28.63	28	9.75	21	17.57	27	1.31	28	33.70	28	11.88	14	20.96	20	2.72

Source: Author's calculations.

Notes: R. – rank, S. – score, Soc – social dimension, Eco – economic dimension, Pol – political dimension.

TABLE A8. Sensitivity of the EU Exit Index to unweighted indicators

	Rank ^a	Score ^a	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
United Kingdom	1	77.14	73.31 (1)	74.49 (1)	72.73 (1)	72.99 (1)	74.02 (1)	73.38 (1)	72.88 (1)	70.48 (1)
Austria	2	56.94	53.23 (2)	53.69 (2)	53.83 (2)	54.41 (2)	53.34 (2)	54.73 (2)	52.87 (2)	56.94 (2)
Sweden	2	55.55	53.4 (2)	53.52 (2)	53.47 (2)	53.88 (2)	53.36 (2)	55.05 (2)	51.28 (2)	48.88 (6)
France	3	55.21	53.53 (2)	52.27 (3)	53.05 (3)	52.23 (3)	53.08 (3)	52.36 (3)	52.4 (3)	55.21 (2)
Denmark	4	54.79	53.86 (2)	52.64 (3)	52.58 (4)	53.07 (3)	52.87 (3)	52.93 (3)	50.67 (5)	48.12 (7)
Italy	2	54.78	51.53 (3)	51.88 (2)	52.07 (2)	50.73 (3)	52.26 (2)	51.42 (3)	52.49 (2)	54.78 (2)
Greece	4	53.96	50.47 (6)	50.11 (8)	50.41 (7)	49.25 (7)	49.74 (8)	50.74 (6)	51.48 (4)	53.96 (3)
Czechia	4	53	50.02 (5)	50.28 (5)	50.56 (4)	49.26 (5)	50.54 (5)	49.42 (7)	50.67 (3)	46.34 (7)
Hungary	8	51.52	49.25 (8)	48.99 (8)	48.7 (8)	48.53 (7)	49.99 (8)	48.03 (8)	49.23 (8)	44.85 (11)
Netherlands	10	49.44	48.51 (8)	47.95 (9)	47.67 (9)	46.35 (9)	47.25 (9)	47.22 (9)	45.36 (10)	49.44 (6)
Cyprus	9	48.22	43.53 (12)	44.54 (11)	44.64 (12)	44.01 (12)	44.5 (12)	43.93 (12)	45.56 (10)	48.22 (6)
Germany	11	47.54	46.2 (10)	45.75 (11)	45.93 (10)	45.91 (10)	45.95 (11)	45.12 (11)	43.15 (12)	47.54 (8)
Poland	11	47.53	44.51 (12)	46.57 (8)	44.97 (11)	45.8 (9)	47.36 (7)	45.67 (8)	45.74 (10)	40.86 (14)
Romania	10	46.41	43.39 (11)	44.88 (10)	43.51 (10)	43.88 (10)	45.65 (9)	43.92 (10)	45.5 (10)	39.75 (14)
Finland	13	45.37	43.66 (12)	43.8 (13)	42.77 (13)	43.85 (12)	43.89 (12)	44.42 (12)	41.18 (13)	45.37 (11)
Bulgaria	12	43.71	41.62 (12)	42.39 (11)	40.68 (14)	39.86 (15)	43 (11)	42.49 (12)	42.53 (10)	37.05 (17)
Croatia	13	43.65	40.28 (14)	41.5 (14)	41.35 (14)	40.41 (14)	42.39 (14)	41.74 (14)	42.24 (11)	36.98 (18)
Portugal	18	40.75	38.48 (18)	37.89 (18)	37.72 (18)	38.21 (17)	38.28 (18)	39.16 (18)	38.61 (18)	40.75 (14)
Slovakia	17	40.41	38.2 (17)	38.05 (17)	38.07 (18)	38.53 (17)	38.49 (17)	37.23 (19)	37.51 (16)	40.41 (14)
Belgium	17	40.05	38.13 (16)	37.7 (18)	38.58 (17)	37.77 (16)	38.13 (18)	37.38 (17)	37.46 (17)	40.05 (13)
Spain	20	38.89	37.61 (20)	36.36 (21)	37.37 (20)	36.71 (19)	36.75 (21)	37.39 (19)	36.14 (21)	38.89 (16)
Slovenia	19	38.80	35.15 (20)	36.85 (18)	36.76 (19)	36.68 (19)	37.44 (18)	36.9 (18)	36.52 (19)	38.8 (15)
Latvia	21	38.43	36.04 (20)	35.98 (21)	35.14 (21)	36.35 (20)	37.17 (20)	34.84 (21)	36.56 (20)	38.43 (18)
Malta	21	38.03	36.99 (18)	37.25 (18)	36.26 (20)	37.02 (19)	37.59 (18)	35.36 (21)	34.57 (21)	38.03 (18)
Ireland	22	37.37	35.57 (22)	36.63 (20)	34.08 (23)	35.29 (21)	36.17 (22)	35.33 (20)	34.97 (22)	37.37 (18)
Lithuania	26	34.55	33.45 (25)	33.72 (26)	31.44 (27)	32.32 (27)	34.39 (25)	32.24 (27)	34.06 (25)	29.96 (28)
Estonia	23	34.14	33.21 (21)	32.48 (23)	31.8 (24)	32.62 (23)	33.65 (23)	32.46 (23)	31.36 (24)	34.14 (23)
Luxembourg	27	33.97	33.33 (26)	32.27 (26)	33.07 (22)	33.41 (24)	32.38 (26)	32.94 (24)	30.96 (27)	33.97 (25)

(table continued on following page)

TABLE A8. Sensitivity of the EU Exit Index to unweighted indicators (cont.)

	Rank ^a	Score ^a	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)
United Kingdom	1	77.14	70.51 (1)	70.86 (1)	73.09 (1)	71.01 (1)	71.88 (1)	73.99 (1)	71.16 (1)	70.37 (1)
Austria	2	56.94	51.83 (2)	50.43 (3)	52.29 (2)	50.78 (2)	51.94 (2)	53.88 (2)	56.09 (2)	54.7 (2)
Sweden	2	55.55	49.56 (2)	48.88 (4)	51 (3)	49.31 (3)	52.28 (2)	52.41 (2)	55.22 (2)	53.12 (2)
France	3	55.21	48.9 (4)	49.01 (5)	50.98 (4)	48.95 (5)	49.26 (5)	53.06 (2)	54.79 (3)	49.16 (5)
Denmark	4	54.79	49.04 (5)	48.12 (6)	48.97 (7)	48.65 (6)	52.04 (3)	51.14 (4)	54.58 (4)	52.57 (4)
Italy	2	54.78	48.26 (3)	51.13 (2)	50.66 (2)	48.58 (2)	50.81 (2)	50.77 (5)	54.78 (2)	51.78 (2)
Greece	4	53.96	47.51 (7)	53.32 (2)	52.42 (2)	51.24 (2)	49.05 (5)	50.64 (6)	53.74 (5)	47.32 (9)
Czechia	4	53	49.68 (2)	48 (3)	49.03 (3)	49.11 (2)	51.6 (2)	49.67 (3)	53 (5)	51.26 (4)
Hungary	8	51.52	48.16 (5)	49.05 (4)	48.74 (8)	51.52 (2)	44.99 (9)	43.36 (12)	49.59 (8)	49.78 (7)
Netherlands	10	49.44	45.2 (9)	42.77 (11)	43.73 (11)	42.77 (10)	48.8 (7)	45.81 (11)	47.94 (10)	44.82 (11)
Cyprus	9	48.22	42.92 (10)	46.87 (6)	47.2 (6)	42.29 (11)	44.32 (10)	48.01 (6)	48.06 (9)	46.07 (10)
Germany	11	47.54	41.57 (12)	40.87 (12)	41.99 (12)	41.06 (12)	43.42 (11)	46.65 (10)	46.68 (12)	45.7 (10)
Poland	11	47.53	42.22 (11)	43.15 (11)	44.34 (10)	44.05 (10)	41.02 (11)	44.59 (11)	46.46 (11)	45.68 (12)
Romania	10	46.41	41.02 (10)	43.5 (10)	42.82 (10)	42.47 (10)	38.43 (16)	46.41 (7)	46.2 (10)	45.27 (9)
Finland	13	45.37	39.27 (13)	38.77 (14)	40.84 (13)	39.08 (15)	42.55 (12)	42.2 (13)	45.01 (13)	44.3 (12)
Bulgaria	12	43.71	38.69 (12)	40.38 (10)	39.85 (11)	41.15 (10)	39.51 (13)	41.58 (12)	43.19 (12)	42.28 (9)
Croatia	13	43.65	38.4 (13)	41.57 (11)	40.58 (12)	38.61 (13)	40 (13)	42.65 (10)	43.22 (13)	43.09 (10)
Portugal	18	40.75	34.99 (20)	38.56 (16)	39.02 (16)	36.89 (17)	34.92 (20)	39.68 (17)	40.53 (17)	37.58 (19)
Slovakia	17	40.41	37.48 (16)	35.41 (18)	37.36 (16)	37.21 (16)	36.73 (17)	37.14 (21)	40.2 (17)	39.85 (17)
Belgium	17	40.05	36.75 (15)	34.36 (19)	34.28 (20)	33.77 (19)	39.78 (14)	39.48 (17)	39.84 (17)	38.74 (18)
Spain	20	38.89	32.58 (23)	35.32 (19)	36.51 (20)	33.11 (23)	35.58 (18)	38.83 (20)	38.03 (21)	36.1 (21)
Slovenia	19	38.80	35.29 (18)	34.85 (17)	34.87 (18)	34.13 (18)	36.27 (18)	38.58 (18)	38.8 (18)	38.43 (17)
Latvia	21	38.43	33.59 (21)	34.26 (20)	35.19 (20)	35.09 (18)	35.41 (18)	36.76 (20)	38.21 (20)	37.71 (21)
Malta	21	38.03	36 (19)	33.31 (20)	31.97 (22)	32.55 (20)	31.52 (22)	38.03 (18)	37.61 (19)	36.44 (20)
Ireland	22	37.37	32.69 (22)	33.5 (22)	36.59 (19)	31.5 (24)	33.24 (21)	36.11 (22)	37.37 (22)	34.16 (24)
Lithuania	26	34.55	29.94 (27)	30.56 (26)	31.04 (25)	33.3 (21)	31.73 (25)	33.56 (26)	34.55 (26)	34.11 (26)
Estonia	23	34.14	30.27 (23)	29.14 (25)	30.47 (23)	30.37 (21)	30.61 (23)	33.5 (22)	33.84 (23)	33.61 (22)
Luxembourg	27	33.97	33.8 (19)	27.31 (27)	28.04 (27)	28.25 (27)	30.32 (25)	33.27 (27)	33.59 (27)	33.82 (25)

Source: Author's calculations.

Notes: ^a Minimum rank and maximum score with all *unweighted* indicators. Score and rank (in brackets) without: (1) future, (2) future EU, (3) identity, (4) citizen, (5) image, (6) migration, (7) trust, (8) euro, (9) EU trade, (10) rating, (11) NIIP, (12) budget, (13) veto players, (14) parties, (15) Council, (16) EP.

TABLE A9. Results of the EU Exit Index for 2015 and maximum values across all six years (z-score)

	VALUES FOR 2015								MAXIMUM VALUES							
	Rank	Score	R.Soc	S.Soc	R.Eco	S.Eco	R.Pol	S.Pol	Rank	Score	R.Soc	S.Soc	R.Eco	S.Eco	R.Pol	S.Pol
United Kingdom	1	1.40	3	0.71	3	0.32	1	0.36	1	1.66	2	0.78	3	0.32	1	0.72
Austria	2	0.88	4	0.68	7	0.14	6	0.05	2	0.88	4	0.68	7	0.15	3	0.14
Cyprus	3	0.63	1	0.92	27	-0.25	13	-0.04	3	0.63	1	0.92	24	-0.18	8	0.05
Greece	4	0.51	2	0.82	28	-0.44	2	0.13	2	0.76	1	1.00	28	-0.35	2	0.25
France	5	0.47	7	0.28	9	0.11	3	0.09	2	0.57	3	0.34	8	0.13	3	0.17
Sweden	6	0.43	11	0.11	2	0.34	9	-0.02	5	0.55	8	0.23	2	0.35	9	0.04
Czechia	7	0.35	5	0.41	14	-0.01	15	-0.05	2	0.59	3	0.59	8	0.12	7	0.08
Netherlands	8	0.32	14	0.07	5	0.18	5	0.07	8	0.43	8	0.24	5	0.20	3	0.12
Italy	9	0.29	6	0.32	12	-0.001	11	-0.03	4	0.56	4	0.52	12	0.002	5	0.09
Germany	10	0.28	8	0.14	4	0.20	17	-0.06	10	0.32	8	0.17	4	0.22	9	0.06
Denmark	11	0.23	19	-0.09	1	0.36	12	-0.04	8	0.45	16	0.10	1	0.40	11	0.04
Belgium	12	0.13	10	0.12	8	0.11	23	-0.11	10	0.17	7	0.19	8	0.12	23	-0.05
Finland	13	0.11	16	0.04	6	0.15	18	-0.08	13	0.11	16	0.04	6	0.16	17	-0.01
Hungary	14	-0.10	15	0.06	23	-0.20	7	0.03	11	0.13	8	0.20	19	-0.08	2	0.20
Slovenia	15	-0.17	12	0.09	20	-0.14	25	-0.12	14	-0.10	9	0.11	16	-0.05	19	-0.05
Slovakia	16	-0.20	9	0.14	26	-0.24	19	-0.09	15	-0.06	9	0.16	19	-0.11	8	0.06
Poland	17	-0.23	25	-0.34	11	0.03	4	0.08	17	-0.22	23	-0.28	11	0.05	4	0.13
Luxembourg	18	-0.24	21	-0.22	10	0.10	27	-0.12	18	-0.23	21	-0.22	9	0.10	21	-0.08
Latvia	19	-0.25	13	0.09	25	-0.22	26	-0.12	17	-0.15	13	0.10	23	-0.15	20	-0.05
Portugal	20	-0.25	17	-0.03	24	-0.21	8	-0.01	15	-0.04	8	0.21	24	-0.18	8	0.04
Bulgaria	21	-0.34	18	-0.05	22	-0.18	24	-0.11	13	-0.24	13	-0.04	17	-0.04	14	0.01
Spain	22	-0.36	20	-0.17	18	-0.10	21	-0.10	16	-0.06	15	0.04	17	-0.04	13	0.001
Croatia	23	-0.38	23	-0.27	13	-0.01	22	-0.10	12	-0.11	12	-0.02	12	0.04	20	-0.03
Estonia	24	-0.39	22	-0.23	16	-0.07	20	-0.10	23	-0.33	20	-0.08	16	-0.05	20	-0.07
Malta	25	-0.43	26	-0.34	15	-0.02	16	-0.06	20	-0.29	21	-0.29	12	0.02	16	-0.01
Romania	26	-0.50	27	-0.39	17	-0.08	10	-0.02	17	-0.17	17	-0.13	13	0.01	10	-0.01
Ireland	27	-0.50	24	-0.30	21	-0.16	14	-0.04	23	-0.33	22	-0.17	20	-0.09	8	0.02
Lithuania	28	-0.78	28	-0.53	19	-0.12	28	-0.13	28	-0.68	27	-0.44	17	-0.09	21	-0.03

Source: Author's calculations.

Notes: R. – rank, S. – score, Soc – social dimension, Eco – economic dimension, Pol – political dimension.

TABLE A10. Results of the EU Exit Index for 2015 and maximum values across all six years (incl. electoral system)

	VALUES FOR 2015								MAXIMUM VALUES							
	Rank	Score	R.Soc	S.Soc	R.Eco	S.Eco	R.Pol	S.Pol	Rank	Score	R.Soc	S.Soc	R.Eco	S.Eco	R.Pol	S.Pol
United Kingdom	1	76.79	3	34.26	3	26.47	1	16.06	1	80.28	2	35.74	3	26.47	1	20.17
Austria	2	58.81	4	33.23	7	20.16	5	5.42	2	58.81	4	33.23	7	20.32	4	6.70
France	3	57.80	7	25.75	9	19.35	2	12.70	2	59.51	3	26.63	9	19.86	2	14.13
Sweden	4	53.22	11	22.34	2	26.81	10	4.06	3	55.03	9	24.31	2	27.09	10	4.68
Cyprus	5	52.97	1	38.13	27	10.81	11	4.03	5	52.97	1	38.13	24	12.61	8	5.65
Czechia	6	50.57	5	28.58	12	18.80	17	3.19	3	55.41	3	31.80	5	21.71	13	4.70
Denmark	7	49.66	19	18.93	1	27.18	15	3.55	6	53.51	16	22.30	1	27.92	10	4.79
Greece	8	49.45	2	35.91	28	6.64	3	6.90	5	53.76	1	38.85	28	8.81	3	9.32
Germany	9	48.22	9	23.16	4	21.53	16	3.52	9	48.60	9	23.39	4	21.84	11	4.72
Italy	10	47.77	6	27.11	15	16.65	12	4.01	6	52.82	4	30.77	15	16.68	8	5.41
Netherlands	11	47.31	14	22.12	5	20.78	9	4.41	9	49.69	8	25.00	5	21.31	7	5.42
Finland	12	44.11	16	20.96	6	20.32	21	2.83	12	44.11	16	20.96	6	20.56	19	3.89
Belgium	13	43.95	10	23.03	10	19.22	28	1.71	10	44.82	7	24.07	10	19.30	28	2.64
Hungary	14	41.01	15	21.86	20	14.29	7	4.86	11	44.51	8	24.41	16	16.88	4	7.44
Poland	15	40.22	26	14.35	8	19.69	4	6.18	15	40.22	23	15.16	7	19.99	4	6.39
Slovenia	16	38.08	12	22.27	22	13.34	23	2.48	16	39.82	9	22.61	19	15.48	23	3.13
Slovakia	17	37.70	8	23.30	26	11.42	18	2.97	16	40.50	8	23.65	20	14.31	14	4.63
Luxembourg	18	37.37	22	16.03	11	18.90	24	2.44	18	37.37	22	16.03	11	18.90	20	3.05
Croatia	19	37.04	23	15.75	13	18.55	22	2.74	11	41.86	12	20.30	10	19.52	20	3.85
Bulgaria	20	36.98	18	19.74	18	14.82	25	2.42	13	39.53	13	19.74	15	17.88	16	4.45
Latvia	21	36.63	13	22.25	25	11.98	26	2.40	20	38.35	13	22.45	23	13.39	20	3.23
Portugal	22	36.56	17	19.80	24	11.98	8	4.78	18	39.96	9	23.86	24	12.76	7	5.81
Romania	23	35.63	27	13.46	14	16.94	6	5.24	13	42.06	16	18.33	10	18.97	5	5.53
Spain	24	34.86	20	17.30	19	14.66	19	2.89	17	40.03	16	20.92	18	15.85	15	4.43
Malta	25	34.46	25	14.56	16	15.89	13	4.01	20	37.39	21	15.40	16	16.93	9	5.06
Estonia	26	34.22	21	16.07	17	15.26	20	2.89	23	35.11	20	18.62	17	15.62	20	3.25
Ireland	27	32.33	24	15.02	23	13.33	14	3.98	24	35.53	22	17.53	19	14.92	7	4.87
Lithuania	28	26.61	28	10.32	21	14.12	27	2.17	28	31.07	28	12.15	15	16.89	20	3.86

Source: Author's calculations.

Notes: Includes a binary indicator for majoritarian electoral systems, which takes 1 for the UK and France (Coppedge *et al.* 2020). R code available upon request.

TABLE A11. Results of the EU Exit Index for 2015 and maximum values across all six years (incl. referendums)

	VALUES FOR 2015								MAXIMUM VALUES							
	Rank	Score	R.Soc	S.Soc	R.Eco	S.Eco	R.Pol	S.Pol	Rank	Score	R.Soc	S.Soc	R.Eco	S.Eco	R.Pol	S.Pol
United Kingdom	1	73.73	3	36.70	3	27.66	1	9.37	1	77.14	2	38.25	3	27.66	1	13.17
Austria	2	59.86	4	35.64	10	19.40	6	4.82	2	59.86	4	35.64	9	19.56	4	6.05
Sweden	3	55.79	12	23.92	2	28.04	9	3.83	2	57.83	8	26.10	2	28.35	9	4.53
Cyprus	4	54.60	1	41.03	27	10.30	14	3.27	4	54.60	1	41.03	24	12.06	9	4.89
Czechia	5	54.12	5	30.57	6	20.38	15	3.16	2	59.27	3	34.13	4	23.21	10	4.79
Denmark	6	52.05	19	20.08	1	28.47	13	3.50	5	56.22	16	23.74	1	29.27	11	4.73
France	7	51.98	7	27.60	12	18.58	3	5.80	3	53.61	3	28.65	11	19.06	3	7.22
Greece	8	51.35	2	38.61	28	6.29	2	6.45	4	56.25	1	42.01	28	8.35	2	8.71
Italy	9	49.02	6	29.08	17	16.04	8	3.90	5	54.34	4	33.02	17	16.09	5	5.81
Netherlands	10	48.36	14	23.52	7	20.13	7	4.71	9	51.07	8	26.67	7	20.71	4	5.74
Germany	11	48.23	9	24.64	5	20.77	17	2.81	11	48.76	9	24.99	5	21.12	12	4.40
Belgium	12	44.89	10	24.53	11	18.68	28	1.68	12	46.01	7	25.78	11	18.78	26	2.60
Finland	13	44.58	16	22.35	9	19.53	18	2.69	13	44.58	16	22.35	8	19.74	18	3.73
Hungary	14	44.40	15	23.40	16	16.07	5	4.93	9	48.02	8	26.12	13	18.58	2	7.15
Poland	15	41.79	25	15.36	4	21.15	4	5.28	14	41.89	23	16.30	4	21.47	4	5.87
Bulgaria	16	40.00	17	21.34	15	16.49	22	2.16	11	42.22	13	21.34	10	19.50	15	3.96
Croatia	17	39.24	23	16.99	8	20.13	23	2.12	10	44.53	12	21.94	6	21.10	21	3.27
Slovenia	18	38.95	11	23.98	22	12.91	25	2.06	17	40.70	8	24.37	19	14.99	19	3.12
Slovakia	19	38.42	8	24.82	26	10.96	19	2.63	16	41.18	8	25.23	21	13.77	8	4.90
Luxembourg	20	37.47	21	17.13	14	18.47	26	1.87	20	37.47	21	17.13	13	18.47	22	2.58
Latvia	21	37.32	13	23.78	24	11.47	24	2.07	21	39.03	13	24.01	23	12.86	21	2.88
Romania	22	36.76	27	14.51	13	18.55	11	3.69	12	43.51	16	19.73	6	20.55	11	4.05
Portugal	23	36.52	18	21.27	25	11.44	10	3.81	18	40.33	9	25.75	25	12.19	10	4.79
Spain	24	34.78	20	18.52	20	14.00	20	2.25	19	40.21	16	22.45	19	15.16	15	3.74
Estonia	25	34.01	22	17.09	19	14.70	21	2.21	23	35.36	20	19.95	19	15.05	21	2.65
Malta	26	33.60	26	15.26	18	15.52	16	2.82	21	36.55	21	16.15	17	16.58	16	3.81
Ireland	27	32.12	24	16.01	23	12.55	12	3.56	25	35.60	22	18.69	21	14.12	6	4.63
Lithuania	28	26.52	28	11.09	21	13.60	27	1.83	26	33.21	27	13.01	14	18.50	20	3.40

Source: Author's calculations.

Notes: Includes an indicator with the number of national referendums between 2010 and 2020, based on Morel and Qvortrup (2017) and data from <https://c2d.ch/>.

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